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Variable	Maximum Requirement								Minimum Requirement	
	Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7		Model 8	
	Vercellotti Categories		Vercellotti Categories		Recoded States		Recoded States		Vercellotti Categories	
	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.07	0.05	-0.07	0.05	-0.06	0.06	-0.06	0.06	-0.03	0.05
Match signature	-0.001	0.06	-0.00003	0.06	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.06	-0.01	0.07
Non-photo ID	-0.10	0.06	-0.10	0.06	-0.11	0.07	-0.11	0.07	-0.08	0.06
Photo ID	-0.10*	0.05	-0.10	0.05	-0.10	0.06	-0.095	0.06	—	—
Affidavit	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-0.10*	0.05
Hispanic	-0.07	0.06	-0.07	0.06	-0.07	0.06	-0.07	0.06	-0.7	0.06
African-American	0.30***	0.05	0.29***	0.05	0.30***	0.05	0.29***	0.05	0.29***	0.05
American Indian	-0.10	0.08	-0.10	0.08	-0.11	0.08	-0.11	0.07	-0.11	0.08
Asian American	-0.43***	0.07	-0.44***	0.07	-0.44***	0.07	-0.44***	0.07	-0.45***	0.07
Other race	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06	-0.03	0.06
Age 25-44	-0.01	0.03	0.05	0.03	-0.01	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.03
Age 45-64	0.25***	0.03	0.33***	0.04	0.25***	0.04	0.33***	0.04	0.33***	0.04
Age 65+	0.40***	0.03	0.53***	0.04	0.40***	0.03	0.53***	0.04	0.53***	0.04
High school	0.33***	0.03	0.32***	0.03	0.33***	0.03	0.32***	0.03	0.32***	0.03
Some college	0.62***	0.03	0.61***	0.03	0.62***	0.03	0.61***	0.03	0.61***	0.03
College	0.91***	0.04	0.90***	0.04	0.91***	0.04	0.90***	0.04	0.90***	0.04
Graduate school	1.05***	0.05	1.04***	0.05	1.05***	0.05	1.04***	0.05	1.04***	0.05
Family income, \$15,000-\$29,999	0.17***	0.02	0.16***	0.02	0.17***	0.02	0.16***	0.02	0.16***	0.02
Family income, \$30,000-\$49,999	0.21***	0.03	0.19***	0.03	0.21***	0.03	0.19***	0.03	0.20***	0.03
Family income, \$50,000-\$74,999	0.24***	0.03	0.23***	0.03	0.24***	0.03	0.23***	0.03	0.23***	0.03
Family income, \$75,000-\$149,999	0.39***	0.04	0.38***	0.04	0.39***	0.04	0.38***	0.04	0.39***	0.04
Family income, \$150,000 or more	0.37***	0.05	0.36***	0.05	0.37***	0.05	0.36***	0.05	0.36***	0.05
Married	0.20***	0.03	0.10**	0.04	0.20***	0.03	0.11**	0.04	0.10**	0.04
Widowed	—	—	-0.24***	0.04	—	—	-0.24***	0.04	-0.25***	0.04
Divorced	—	—	-0.10**	0.04	—	—	-0.10**	0.04	-0.11**	0.04
Separated	—	—	-0.24***	0.04	—	—	-0.24***	0.04	-0.24***	0.04
Female	0.10***	0.02	0.11***	0.02	0.10***	0.02	0.11***	0.02	0.11***	0.02
Battleground state	0.20***	0.04	0.19***	0.04	0.19***	0.04	0.19***	0.04	0.20***	0.05
Competitive race	-0.03	0.06	-0.03	0.06	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06
Employed	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.05
Member of workforce	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06
Native-born citizen	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.05	-0.03	0.05
Moved within last year	-0.27***	0.03	-0.27***	0.03	-0.27***	0.03	-0.27***	0.03	-0.27***	0.03
Home ownership	0.16***	0.03	0.17***	0.03	0.16***	0.03	0.17***	0.03	0.17***	0.03
Constant	-0.08	0.09	-0.05	0.09	-0.11	0.09	-0.06	0.11	-0.07	0.09
Pseudo R-squared	0.10		0.10				0.11		0.10	
N	54,695		54,695		54,695		54,695		54,695	

* p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001

Note: Two-tailed significance tests were used. Robust standard errors adjusted for state clustering are reported. The CPS population weights were used.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations.

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Third, the effect of photo identification variables on voter turnout is very sensitive to how the models control for marriage. In addition to a dichotomous variable for whether or not the respondent reported being married, additional dichotomous variables were added for those reporting to be widowed, separated, and divorced. This minor change in marital control variables has a significant impact on the results for the relationship between voter turnout and some of the voter identification variables.

Fourth, the alternative models control for whether or not the individual has moved within the last year instead of the six-month time period used by the Eagleton Institute.

Fifth, a variable indicating whether or not the respondent owns or rents his or her home was added to the alternative models. The residential mobility and home ownership variables help to control for how connected the respondents are to their communities.

Table 5 presents the findings of the alternative model specification for all respondents. Model 4 contains the revised race/ethnicity and income variables along with the variables for residential mobility and home ownership. Of the four voter identification variables, only the photo identification variable is statistically significant. Photo identification states have respondents that are less likely to have reported voting compared to respondents in states that only required voters to say their names at the polling stations. However, the difference is very small. The survey respondents in photo identification states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than respondents from states that only required voters to state their name for identification.

A slight change in how marital status is controlled for in Model 5 makes the findings in Model 4 for photo identification requirements disappear. The inclusion of dichotomous variables to identify respondents if they are widowed, divorced, or separated, in addition to being married, significantly changes the results for the photo identification variable. A photo identification requirement no longer has a statistically significant relationship with voter turnout. Thus, the finding that photo identification requirements reduce voter

turnout in Model 4 is not robust to an alternative model specification.

In Models 6 and 7, Arizona and Illinois are reclassified correctly as requiring voters at polling stations to sign their name and match signatures, respectively. As with Model 4, Model 6 uses only a married dichotomous variable to control for marital status. Model 7 includes additional marital status variables as used in Model 5. After correctly designating Arizona and Illinois, the different ways to control for marital status have no effect on the outcomes for the voter identification variables. All of the state voter identification variables are statistically insignificant—meaning that none of these requirements has a statistically measurable relationship with voter turnout.

Model 8 uses the minimum requirements for voter identification as used by the Eagleton Institute. The only voter identification coefficient to be statistically significant is the swear affidavit coefficient. The survey respondents in swear affidavit states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than respondents from states that only require voters to state their name for identification.

As for the socioeconomic variables in Models 4 through 8, the findings are similar to the previous findings. African-Americans are more likely to have reported voting in the election than non-Hispanic whites, while Asians are less likely to report voting. Older respondents and those with higher incomes and more education are more likely to report voting. Widowed, divorced, and separated respondents are less likely to report voting than singles, while married respondents are more likely to report voting. Female respondents are more likely to report voting than male respondents. Respondents residing in battleground states are more likely to vote, while respondents who moved within the last twelve months are less likely to have reported voting.

Findings by Race and Ethnicity

The impact of voter identification requirements on minority voters has received much media attention recently.⁷⁹ To analyze the relationship between race and ethnicity and voter identification requirements, Tables 6 through 9 present the findings of the probit analyses.

79. Tom Baxter and Jim Galloway, "Wonk Alert: Study Says the Heavier the Voter ID Requirements, the Lower Turnout"; Wolf, "Study: Stricter Voting ID Rules Hurt '04 Turnout"; and Dave Zweifel, "Voter ID Reducing Minority Turnout," *The Capital Times* (Madison, Wisconsin), February 28, 2007, p. A6.

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Variable	Maximum Requirement				Minimum Requirement	
	Model 9		Model 10		Model 11	
	Vercellotti Categorizations		Recoded States		Vercellotti Categorizations	
	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.05	0.05	-0.06	0.07	-0.02	0.05
Match signature	0.01	0.06	-0.01	0.07	-0.01	0.08
Non-photo ID	-0.04	0.07	-0.06	0.08	-0.05	0.07
Photo ID	-0.12*	0.05	-0.14*	0.06	—	—
Affidavit	—	—	—	—	-0.13**	0.04
Age 25–44	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.04
Age 45–64	0.34***	0.04	0.34***	0.04	0.34***	0.04
Age 65+	0.54***	0.05	0.54***	0.05	0.54***	0.05
High school	0.38***	0.03	0.38***	0.03	0.38***	0.03
Some college	0.70***	0.03	0.70***	0.03	0.70***	0.03
College	1.00***	0.04	1.00***	0.04	1.00***	0.04
Graduate school	1.13***	0.05	1.13***	0.05	1.13***	0.05
Family income, \$15,000–\$29,999	0.16***	0.04	0.16***	0.04	0.16***	0.03
Family income, \$30,000–\$49,999	0.22***	0.03	0.22***	0.03	0.22***	0.03
Family income, \$50,000–\$74,999	0.24***	0.03	0.24***	0.04	0.24***	0.03
Family income, \$75,000–\$149,999	0.36***	0.05	0.36***	0.05	0.36***	0.05
Family income, \$150,000 or more	0.36***	0.05	0.36***	0.05	0.36***	0.05
Married	0.16**	0.04	0.17***	0.04	0.16**	0.04
Widowed	-0.20***	0.04	-0.20***	0.04	-0.20***	0.04
Divorced	-0.10**	0.04	-0.10**	0.04	-0.10**	0.04
Separated	-0.33***	0.07	-0.33***	0.07	-0.33***	0.07
Female	0.09***	0.01	0.09***	0.01	0.09***	0.03
Battleground state	0.19***	0.05	0.19***	0.05	0.19***	0.05
Competitive race	-0.04	0.06	-0.04	0.06	-0.04	0.06
Employed	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.06
Member of workforce	-0.001	0.06	-0.001	0.06	0.002	0.06
Native-born citizen	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.09	0.09
Moved within last year	-0.25***	0.03	-0.25***	0.03	-0.25***	0.03
Home ownership	0.15***	0.03	0.15***	0.03	0.15***	0.03
Constant	-0.05	0.12	-0.05	0.13	-0.26*	0.12
Pseudo R-squared	0.11		0.11		0.11	
N	44,762		44,762		44,762	

* p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001

Note: Two-tailed significance tests were used. Robust standard errors adjusted for state clustering are reported. The CPS population weights were used.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations.

Non-Hispanic Whites. The probit regression results presented in Table 6 contain data for respondents reporting to be non-Hispanic whites. Models 9 and 10 present the findings for the maximum requirements with Model 10 including the correct voter identification classifications for Arizona and Illinois. Except for the photo identification coefficient, none of the coefficients for the voter identification variables are statistically different from zero. In both Models 9 and 10, white respondents in photo identification states are less likely to have reported voting compared to white respondents in states that only required voters to

say their names at the polling stations. Under both models, white survey respondents in photo identification states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than white respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

The analysis of minimum voter identification requirements in Model 11 finds that white respondents are less likely to vote when the minimum requirement entails a sworn affidavit. White survey respondents in swear affidavit states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than white respondents from states that only required voters to give their name.

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Variable	Maximum Requirement				Minimum Requirement	
	Model 12		Model 13		Model 14	
	Vercellotti Categories		Recorded States		Vercellotti Categories	
	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.20	0.12	-0.09	0.11	-0.03	0.14
Match signature	-0.13	0.10	-0.06	0.11	-0.03	0.15
Non-photo ID	-0.30***	0.09	-0.19*	0.08	-0.12	0.12
Photo ID	-0.15	0.15	-0.03	0.14	—	—
Affidavit	—	—	—	—	0.0002	0.21
Age 25–44	0.03	0.10	0.03	0.10	0.03	0.10
Age 45–64	0.13	0.11	0.13	0.11	0.13	0.11
Age 65+	0.35*	0.14	0.35*	0.14	0.36*	0.14
High school	0.30***	0.05	0.30***	0.05	0.30***	0.05
Some college	0.44***	0.08	0.44***	0.08	0.44***	0.08
College	0.70***	0.10	0.70***	0.10	0.69***	0.10
Graduate school	0.88***	0.13	0.89***	0.13	0.86***	0.13
Family income, \$15,000–\$29,999	0.21**	0.08	0.21**	0.08	0.21**	0.08
Family income, \$30,000–\$49,999	0.27**	0.08	0.27**	0.08	0.28***	0.08
Family income, \$50,000–\$74,999	0.39**	0.13	0.38**	0.13	0.39***	0.12
Family income, \$75,000–\$149,999	0.68***	0.14	0.67***	0.14	0.68***	0.14
Family income, \$150,000 or more	0.82*	0.32	0.82**	0.32	0.83*	0.32
Married	0.03	0.08	0.03	0.08	0.03	0.08
Widowed	-0.10***	0.11	-0.10***	0.11	-0.10***	0.11
Divorced	0.13	0.07	0.13	0.07	0.12	0.07
Separated	-0.11	0.09	-0.11	0.09	-0.09	0.10
Female	0.16	0.07	0.16	0.07	0.16	0.07
Battleground state	0.15	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.16	0.13
Competitive race	-0.01	0.11	0.04	0.11	0.02	0.10
Employed	-0.10	0.13	-0.11	0.13	-0.10	0.13
Member of workforce	0.37**	0.13	0.38**	0.13	0.37**	0.13
Native-born citizen	0.22	0.13	0.25	0.13	0.21	0.14
Moved within last year	-0.31***	0.07	-0.31***	0.07	-0.33***	0.07
Home ownership	0.20***	0.07	0.20***	0.07	0.19**	0.07
Constant	0.07	0.17	0.08	0.17	0.06	0.18
Pseudo R-squared	0.11		0.11		0.10	
N	4,958		4,958		4,958	

* p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001
 Note: Two-tailed significance tests were used. Robust standard errors adjusted for state clustering are reported. The CPS population weights were used.
 Source: Heritage Foundation calculations.

Non-Hispanic African-Americans. The probit regression results presented in Table 7 contain data for respondents reporting to be non-Hispanic African-Americans. Models 12 and 13 present the findings for the maximum requirements with Model 13 including the correct voter identification classifications for Arizona and Illinois. Except for the non-photo identification coefficient, none of the coefficients for the voter identification variables are statistically different from zero. In both Models 12 and 13, African-American respondents in non-photo identification states are less likely to have reported voting compared to African-American respondents

in states that only required voters to say their names at the polling stations. In Model 12, African-American respondents in non-photo identification states are 0.019 percent less likely to report voting than African-American respondents from states that only required voters to state their name. For Model 13, the elasticity for non-photo identification states is 0.012 percent.

The analysis of minimum voter identification requirements in Model 14 fails to find any statistically significant relationships between African-American voter turnout and the minimum voting requirements.

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Variable	Maximum Requirement				Minimum Requirement	
	Model 15		Model 16		Model 17	
	Vercellotti Categories		Recoded States		Vercellotti Categories	
	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.27	0.14	-0.11	0.18	-0.21	0.14
Match signature	-0.16	0.14	0.03	0.18	-0.16	0.14
Non-photo ID	-0.44**	0.15	-0.35*	0.18	-0.40*	0.15
Photo ID	-0.12	0.16	-0.02	0.18	—	—
Affidavit	—	—	—	—	-0.16	0.16
Age 25–44	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.08
Age 45–64	0.38***	0.07	0.39***	0.07	0.39***	0.07
Age 65+	0.40**	0.12	0.40***	0.12	0.41***	0.12
High school	0.11	0.07	0.10	0.07	0.11	0.07
Some college	0.44***	0.04	0.43***	0.04	0.44***	0.04
College	0.53***	0.10	0.52***	0.10	0.53***	0.10
Graduate school	0.78***	0.20	0.78***	0.20	0.78***	0.20
Family income, \$15,000–\$29,999	0.12	0.08	0.13	0.08	0.12	0.08
Family income, \$30,000–\$49,999	0.01	0.15	0.001	0.15	0.01	0.15
Family income, \$50,000–\$74,999	0.21**	0.08	0.20**	0.07	0.21**	0.08
Family income, \$75,000–\$149,999	0.40***	0.10	0.39***	0.09	0.40***	0.10
Family income, \$150,000 or more	0.09	0.16	0.08	0.16	0.09	0.16
Married	-0.12	0.08	-0.11	0.08	-0.12	0.08
Widowed	-0.40***	0.13	-0.40***	0.13	-0.41***	0.13
Divorced	-0.14	0.11	-0.13	0.11	-0.14	0.11
Separated	-0.001	0.10	-0.003	0.10	-0.01	0.10
Female	0.16***	0.04	0.16***	0.04	0.16***	0.04
Battleground state	0.41***	0.08	0.39***	0.08	0.42***	0.08
Competitive race	-0.29**	0.11	-0.23**	0.11	-0.25*	0.11
Employed	-0.17	0.09	-0.17	0.10	-0.18	0.09
Member of workforce	-0.11	0.09	-0.11	0.10	-0.12	0.09
Native-born citizen	-0.26***	0.08	-0.25***	0.08	-0.27***	0.08
Moved within last year	-0.26***	0.07	-0.26***	0.07	-0.27***	0.07
Home ownership	0.32***	0.04	0.34***	0.05	0.31***	0.04
Constant	0.53**	0.19	0.38	0.20	0.51**	0.19
Pseudo R-squared	0.11		0.11		0.11	
N	2,862		2,862		2,862	

* p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001

Note: Two-tailed significance tests were used. Robust standard errors adjusted for state clustering are reported. The CPS population weights were used.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations.

Hispanics. The probit regression results presented in Table 8 contain data for respondents reporting to be Hispanic. Models 15 and 16 present the findings for the maximum requirements with Model 16 including the correct voter identification classifications for Arizona and Illinois. Model 17 presents the findings for the minimum voter identification requirements. All three models find that Hispanics reported lower voter turnout rates in states with non-photo identification requirements compared to states that only require voters to state their names at the polling stations. All three of these findings are statistically significant at the 95

percent confidence level. Hispanic respondents in non-photo identification states are 0.035 percent to 0.049 percent less likely to report voting than Hispanic respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

Asian Americans. The probit regression results presented in Table 9 contain data for respondents reporting to be non-Hispanic Asian American (including Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders). Models 18 and 19 present the findings for the maximum requirements with Model 19 including the correct voter identification classifications for Arizona and Illinois. Model 20 presents the findings for the

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Alternative Specifications of Probit Models of Voter Turnout of Asians

Variable	Maximum Requirement				Minimum Requirement	
	Model 18		Model 19		Model 20	
	Vercellotti Categories		Recoded States		Vercellotti Categories	
	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.19	0.19	-0.22	0.28	-0.20	0.19
Match signature	0.14	0.19	0.06	0.29	0.10	0.19
Non-photo ID	-0.28	0.21	-0.33	0.29	-0.30	0.21
Photo ID	-0.09	0.21	-0.13	0.29	—	—
Affidavit	—	—	—	—	0.19	0.21
Age 25–44	-0.39**	0.15	-0.39**	0.15	-0.37*	0.15
Age 45–64	-0.04	0.19	0.03	0.19	-0.005	0.19
Age 65+	-0.001	0.32	-0.005	0.32	-0.04	0.32
High school	0.46	0.28	0.47	0.28	0.47	0.28
Some college	0.21	0.43	0.21	0.43	0.22	0.43
College	0.42	0.33	0.42	0.33	0.42	0.33
Graduate school	0.39	0.37	0.39	0.37	0.39	0.37
Family income, \$15,000–\$29,999	-0.06	0.24	-0.06	0.25	-0.05	0.24
Family income, \$30,000–\$49,999	-0.37	0.19	-0.36	0.19	-0.35	0.19
Family income, \$50,000–\$74,999	-0.30	0.23	-0.30	0.23	-0.29	0.23
Family income, \$75,000–\$149,999	0.26	0.23	0.27	0.24	0.25	0.23
Family income, \$150,000 or more	0.09	0.26	0.09	0.27	0.10	0.26
Married	0.36*	0.18	0.36*	0.18	0.34	0.18
Widowed	-0.43	0.32	-0.43	0.32	-0.43	0.32
Divorced	0.13	0.23	0.12	0.23	0.08	0.23
Separated	0.19	0.41	0.18	0.41	0.15	0.41
Female	0.13	0.07	0.14***	0.07	0.13	0.07
Battleground state	0.23	0.13	0.24	0.13	0.17	0.13
Competitive race	0.30	0.21	0.30	0.20	0.21	0.21
Employed	-0.28	0.37	-0.28	0.37	-0.28	0.37
Member of workforce	0.59	0.43	0.59	0.43	0.58	0.43
Native-born citizen	0.11	0.14	0.11	0.14	0.13	0.14
Moved within last year	-0.41**	0.13	-0.42***	0.13	-0.45***	0.13
Home ownership	-0.09	0.10	-0.09	0.10	-0.11	0.10
Constant	0.40	0.48	0.44	0.55	0.46	0.48
Pseudo R-squared	0.11		0.11		0.10	
N	1,029		1,029		1,029	

* p < 0.05. ** p < 0.01. *** p < 0.001

Note: Two-tailed significance tests were used. Robust standard errors adjusted for state clustering are reported. The CPS population weights were used.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations.

minimum voter identification requirements. All three models find that the various state voter identification requirements do not have a statistically measurable relationship with voter turnout of Asian Americans.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this analysis suggest that voter identification requirements, such as requiring non-photo and photo identification, have virtually no suppressive effect on reported voter turnout.

Caution is needed in interpreting the Eagleton Institute's findings, for at least three reasons.

First, their study used one-tailed significance tests that can be used to double the chances of finding statistically significant findings.

Second, the voter identification laws for two states, Arizona and Illinois, were incorrectly classified. From our modeling, this misclassification leads to a negative and statistically significant relationship between photo identification requirements and voter turnout for all registered voters. When Arizona and Illinois are correctly classified, the relationship in our modeling is statistically indistinguishable from zero.

Third, the findings for photo identification requirements are sensitive to model specification. Us-

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ing the Eagleton Institute's state voter identification classifications and controlling for marriage with a married or not dichotomous variable, our analysis of overall voter turnout finds that photo identification requirements have a negative and statistically significant relationship with overall voter turnout. However, when additional marital status variables—widowed, divorced, separated—are included, the statistically significant relationship for photo identification requirements disappears.

Controlling for factors that influence voter turnout, states with stricter voter identification laws largely do not have the claimed negative impact on voter turnout when compared to states with more lenient voter identification laws. Based on the Eagleton Institute's findings, some members of the media have claimed that voter identification law suppress voter turnout, especially among minorities.⁸⁰ Their conclusion is unfounded. When statistically significant and negative relationships are found in our analysis, the effects are so small that the findings offer little policy significance.

More important, minority respondents in states that required photo identification are just as likely to report voting as are minority respondents from states that only required voters to say their name.

Nevertheless, using data from the November 2004 CPS to study the impact of voter identification requirements on voter turnout does have its limitations. The November 2004 CPS is a cross-sectional data set that does not allow social scientists to estimate the effect of changing voter identification requirements within states over time. Studies using the November CPS can only provide information on how voter patterns differed between states with different voter identification requirements. These studies cannot provide information on how enacting stiffer voter identification requirements will affect voter turnout within states over time. While it is reasonable to assume that voters will respond to stricter voter identification requirements by obtaining the necessary documentation, we would need to use panel data sets that consist of cross-sectional and time-series data in order to conduct such an analysis. Panel studies observe multiple units (e.g., individual

voters, voting precincts, and counties) over several time periods.

To the best of our knowledge, there is only one voter identification study that utilizes the benefits of panel data. The study, by John R. Lott of the University of Maryland Foundation, analyzed the effect of stricter voter identification requirements on U.S. primary and general elections from 1996 to 2006.⁸¹ Dr. Lott found little support for the notion that non-photo and photo identification requirements suppress voter turnout.

As states adopt stricter voter identification requirements to deter voter fraud, future research needs to adopt panel data methods to determine how the laws affect voter turnout.

CONCLUSION

Controlling for factors that influence voter turnout, voter identification laws largely do not have the claimed negative impact on voter turnout based on state-to-state comparisons. When statistically significant and negative relationships are found, the effects are so small that the findings offer little policy significance. White survey respondents in photo identification states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than white respondents from states that only required voters to state their name. African-American respondents in non-photo identification states are 0.012 percent less likely to report voting than African-American respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

In other cases, no effect was found. In general, respondents in photo identification and non-photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to respondents from states that only required voters to state their name. African-American respondents in photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to African-American respondents from states that only required voters to state their name. Hispanic respondents in photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to Hispanic respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

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80. Baxter and Galloway, "Wonk Alert: Study Says the Heavier the Voter ID Requirements, the Lower Turnout"; Wolf, "Study: Stricter Voting ID Rules Hurt '04 Turnout"; and Zweifel, "Voter ID Reducing Minority Turnout."

81. Lott, "Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates."